

FIDELITY AND INFIDELITY IN KICKAPOO:
THE CASE OF CODESWITCHING AND QUOTED MATERIAL

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Kickapoo is a Central Algonquian language spoken in the United States and in Mexico. This work was done with the help of the Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma and it is their dialect that is studied here. The Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma, numbering approximately 3,000 members, is one of three federally recognized Kickapoo groups in the United States. The Kansas Kickapoo Tribe numbers about 500, with a few active speakers, including one fluent speaker who is teaching the language at the Kickapoo Nation School in Kansas. The Texas Band of the Kickapoo residing in Eagle Pass, Texas, is officially called the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe and has about 300 members. There is a fourth group of Kickapoo in El Nacimiento Rancheria in the state of Coahuila in Mexico, about 125 miles southwest of Eagle Pass, Texas. The Texas and Nacimiento groups are considered to be the most traditional groups, having retained the Kickapoo language and culture (Yamamoto, p.c.). The Kickapoo language has survived several generations of contact with Spanish in Mexico and English in Oklahoma, as speakers either have remained monolingual in the ancestral language, or have become bilingual.

Until the present time, this has been the situation with the Kickapoo in Oklahoma, the survival of the language being enhanced by the linguistic stability of the population in Mexico. Because many of the Kickapoo residing in Oklahoma are related to Kickapoo residing in Mexico, and because Nacimiento is the center of religious and ceremonial activities, there is a great deal of contact between the two communities.

Although there are few Kickapoo children permanently residing in Oklahoma who are acquiring the language, there are several elders who are Kickapoo monolinguals, and many adults who are Kickapoo/English bilinguals. Members of this latter group, the Kickapoo/English bilinguals, will be the focus of this discussion on Kickapoo/English codeswitching. Specifically, the conversations of four women, ranging in age from the mid-thirties to mid-sixties, will be analyzed.

Keeping in mind Gumperz's 1982 claim that language alternation is a self-conscious use of foreign materials with the intent of evoking special emotional or contextual tones, we can observe codeswitching and language transfer among the Kickapoo speakers as a means of building context, and we can observe the formal properties of their switches from one language to another.

Additionally, because language alternation involves the mapping of one linguistic system onto another, the mapping of two very different systems onto each

other will be observed and analyzed. English has fixed word order and minimal affixation, and Kickapoo has relatively free word order and abundant affixation.

For the purposes of this analysis, I have used the following definitions. Language alternation is the use of two or more languages by the same speaker in the course of a conversation. Efforts at defining 'types' of language alternation for the purpose of coding and classifying instances of its occurrence in natural language have been frustrated by the data. Auer (1984) proposes two different category pairs: codeswitching vs. transfer, and discourse vs. participant related language alternation. These two pairs yield four possible procedures available to speakers for carrying out their local interpretations (addressee selection, citations, topic shifts, etc.) of conversational context. These procedures are discourse related codeswitching, discourse related transfer, participant related codeswitching, and participant related transfer. Auer recognizes that most instances of language alternation are not prototypical examples of any of his four procedures, and presents a number of cases of polyvalent local meanings, those cases that cannot be unambiguously labeled with any one of the four procedural terms.

The Kickapoo data is not different from any other corpus of naturally occurring language data in that instances of language alternation are not generally unambiguously categorizable. For the purposes of imposing some order on the data and to give us a starting point for discussion, however, I will characterize the instances of language alternation found in these conversations according to structurally based definitions of language transfer as opposed to codeswitching.

Language transfer involves a speaker's alternating from one language to another and back to the initial language within the same turn. Transferred items generally correspond to words and phrases, which can be defined and described as having predictable constituent boundaries where transfer will begin and end. The original language is the 'frame', or 'framing language', within which the transferred item is produced. The transfer of a single word will be referred to here as "lexical insertion" and the transfer of a phrase as "phrasal insertion". In most instances in the Kickapoo data, the framing language is the language containing the verb of the sentence.

Codeswitching can begin at any linguistically appropriate point: turn initially, mid-morphemically (generally at syllable boundaries), at word or morpheme boundaries, or at constituent boundaries, including following a sentence completion. Codeswitching generally involves switching an entire clause or sentence into the other language. Clauses in English, of course, contain a subject and a verb, but in Kickapoo, the verb is sufficient to define the clause. In the case where a verb is switched into Kickapoo, the verb is sufficient to define the clause. Such a switch will be defined as codeswitching only if the speaker does not switch back again into English within the same turn. For purposes of this analysis, interjections, 'yes/no' responses to questions, and lexical items standing alone as responses to questions will also be considered to be clausal units.

Codeswitching can be regarded as a speaker-specific practice; that is, an individual speaker's language choice is traced within turns and from turn to turn. Intra-speaker codeswitching takes place when two or more speakers involved in the same conversation, discussing the same topic and involving the same participants, use different languages for their respective turns.

A single turn by an individual speaker can contain instances, by these definitions, of both codeswitching and transfer.

(1) Ch: Here!

I: Here! (Laughs) Pakici she sure can, she can say some clear, clear words. (My!)

Aapehe, "I want some more!"
(Always)

The turn preceding the child's utterance, a turn taken by Mrs. G, has been entirely in Kickapoo. The child performs intra-speaker codeswitching by speaking in English. Mrs. I's turn preceding this one has been in Kickapoo, so the repetition of the child's utterance, 'Here' constitutes a speaker-specific codeswitch for her. Her turn consists of three units, the repetition of the child's utterance, and two sentences. The first sentence also contains a transferred item, the interjection *pakici* 'my', and the final sentence contains the transferred item, *aapehe* 'always', an adverbial particle.

Quotations are a special case in conversation because they challenge the speaker to maintain coherence not only within the ongoing conversation in which the quoted material is being reported, but also to maintain coherence with the conversation from which the quoted material is taken. Leech 1978 reports that most speakers involved in a bilingual conversation strive to maintain 'fidelity' to the quoted material by reporting it in the language in which it was spoken. Citations of this sort generally consist of two parts, the quoted material and a clause containing a verb of saying and its subject. It very often happens that the verb of saying and the quoted material are in two different languages.

Fidelity to the language of quoted material is amply demonstrated by the women throughout these conversations:

(to a Kickapoo child, quoting another one of the Kickapoo women,)

(2) G: "Taanahi noosoθema, " iaa.
"Where's my grandson," she said.

(quoting an English-speaking child,)

(3) Ch: No.

- I: "No," ketekwaakoho. (Laughs)
 "No," he said.

(quoting a Kickapoo-speaking child,)

- (4) I: Nesiakhkookwea wilna, tenao?
 She has long hair, doesn't she?

"Aakwi," iaa.
 "No," she said.

(remembering a wedding ceremony performed in English:)

- (5) A: "You are now my wedded husband." (Holding hands out
 showing rings.)

All: (Laugh.)

- A: "Okay!" laa seeski.
 "Okay," is all he said.

During this discussion of wedding rings, Mrs. G does not use a verb of saying to mark her first switch, but instead uses gesture and prosody to set apart the quoted material. By displaying her rings and proclaiming the words that accompanied the acquisition of those rings, she makes it clear that she is quoting herself. Mrs. G and her Spanish-speaking husband were legally married in a civil ceremony in which English was used. As Hill & Hill (1986:364) explain, we cannot always assume that a speaker who is represented as speaking a particular language actually spoke that language. But, by switching into an alternate language for quoted material a speaker can also maintain fidelity to the social situation involved, in this case a civil wedding ceremony performed in the United States. While the quote itself may not be accurate, Mrs. G maintains coherence with the language of the ceremony.

There are several examples throughout the taped conversations in which the women demonstrate great care in maintaining fidelity to quoted material. Among the most interesting is this discussion in which they are teasing Mrs. I about her craving for soda crackers:

- (6) G: Kiacihkwi maahi.
 You must be pregnant.

- I: Eenima nieehap mekoci
 I couldn't be, you mean, just

iihacihkwiaani
 that I will get pregnant

eehaapamaci man.
by looking at a man.
(I couldn't be pregnant right away just by looking at a man.)

Eehe, niihkiinataapamaakoho.
Yes, when I'm merely looking around for him.

G: (Laughs)

linaama.
Well, I'll be.

Did you, "seeski niihaapamaaki," seeski iaakoho.
"I'll just look at them," she merely said.

I: Not in that area.

All: (Laugh)

Notice, first of all, the lexical insertion of the English 'man' following the Kickapoo verb *eehaapamaci* 'to look at'. The verb (*w)aapam-* 'look at him' is a transitive animate verb requiring pronominal affixes encoding a subject and an object. The occurrence of an overt noun phrase for either argument is optional. Lexical insertion of direct object and subject noun phrases should not, then, pose any problem in terms of violation of the Equivalence Constraint on codeswitching (Poplack, 1981).

The Equivalence Constraint specifies that codes will tend to be switched at points where juxtaposition of ... elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at the point where the surface structure of the languages map onto each other (Poplack, 1981:174).

Mrs. I's insertion of 'man' following the verb in example 6 is a bit surprising since 'man' is the object of a prepositional verb in the English equivalent of her statement, rather than the direct object of a transitive verb. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1972:813) demonstrate that such verbs and their prepositional particles form a cohesive semantic and syntactic unit and that they behave syntactically very much like transitive verbs and their objects. There are some morphosyntactic symmetries between English prepositional verbs and Kickapoo transitive verbs that make Mrs. I's insertion a little less surprising. There are very few prepositions in Kickapoo, but the derivational verb finals such as the *-m* on (*w)aapaam-* meaning 'to him' (where 'him' is a cover term for an animate object) perform the relational function that prepositions perform in English. As the object of a derived transitive verb, then, 'man' maps perfectly onto both the Kickapoo and the English syntactic systems.

Returning to our focus on quoted material, Mrs. G exclaims in surprise---or

feigned shock---at what Mrs. I has said. She exclaims in Kickapoo, then begins an utterance in English. But, because the focus of her indignation is the statement just uttered by Mrs. I in Kickapoo, she must abandon the English and switch to Kickapoo in mid-sentence in order to quote Mrs. I. She finishes with the verb of saying in Kickapoo.

Even in fantasized conversation, the women adhere to the language of the 'quoted' speakers.

- (7) V: Niihawataakaahko iiniya (Name).
I'll send it to that (Name).

"Here's all my babies," niihinaawa.
I'll tell him.

"They're my babies."

A&I: (Laugh)

I: How come they're all different kinds?

G: Iiniiko iihisimaci.
You certainly tell him that.

and he's gonna say, and he's gonna say, "I don't care", kiihikwa.
he'll tell you.

I: (Laughs)
Eiikiyo ohamaanakiikweaki iiniki.
And different colored eyes they all (have).

Caakaakiyo wiihisikiyaaki.
They'll all be different races.

The women have taken pictures of all of the children at the preschool on Baby Day and are talking about sending the pictures to a male friend of Mrs. V. This friend does not speak Kickapoo.

The verb of saying *i-* 'say so' is a transitive inanimate relative verb used only with quoted material, which is its inanimate direct object. Verbal Class I pronominal affixes encode the speaker; the addressee is not encoded. When an overt subject noun phrase occurs, *i-* can be deleted, leaving only the reference to the speaker to mark the material as quoted. This does not happen in any of the quoted material in this corpus.

The verb of saying *in-* 'say so' is a transitive animate relative verb requiring verbal pronominal affixes encoding the speaker as the subject and the addressee as the object of the verb. The quoted material is the relative complement of the verb.

The verb *isim-* 'say so to him', used by Mrs. G, is a transitive animate relative verb which is used without quoted material. As a relative verb, it must have a relative complement, in this case the pronoun *iini* 'that', referring to the quoted material in Mrs. V's preceding turn.

The women remain remarkably coherently tied to both conversations through their use of language alternation. Mrs. V begins in Kickapoo then switches to English for the quoted material, which is signaled not only by the Kickapoo verb of saying, but also the altered prosody she uses. She announces "Here's all my babies" with an elevated pitch and equal stress on 'all my ba-', lowering the pitch for the second syllable of 'babies'. This exaggerated style is carried through to the Kickapoo verb of saying *niihinaawa* 'I'll tell him', -*aawa* being the deliberate style pronunciation of -*aa*, which indicates a first person agent acting on a third person single patient (Voorhis, 1974:66). She then repeats in English, apparently again for the gentleman's benefit, "They're my babies", with heavy stress on 'my'.

Mrs. I then takes up the game, and referring to the racial diversity of the group, asks as the gentleman might, "How come they're all different kinds?" Mrs. I's speaker-specific switch into Kickapoo for her following turn marks this question asked in English as a part of the fantasized conversation. Mrs. I explains the joke on the gentleman, a joke shared by the three women. This shared knowledge is expressed in Kickapoo.

Mrs. G, in her turn connects the two conversations, the fantasized and the real-time conversation, by using verbs of saying in English with a repetition repair 'And he's gonna say, and he's gonna say', followed by the quoted material in English, then a verb of saying in Kickapoo.

The high degree of bilingualism among the Kickapoo people of Oklahoma contributes to the facility with which they codeswitch. There are examples in the conversational data gathered in Oklahoma of language alternations which can be examined in light of the motivating functions proposed by Gumperz (1982) and Valdes (1981). These functions include, in addition to the citation of quoted material, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, personification vs. objectification, mitigation of illocutionary force, and aggravation of illocutionary force.

In its form language alternation used for the purpose of representing quoted material in the language in which it was spoken is necessarily codeswitching because it involves the switching of languages from clause to clause, from quote to verb of saying. But it cannot be unambiguously typed as either discourse-related or participant-related codeswitching. It occurs because factors in the discourse prompt

it, and because of factors particular to the local participant(s). In analysis of language alternations, it is often tempting to wander off into speculations about speakers' social and psychological reasons for switching codes, but the case of switching for the purpose of maintaining fidelity to quoted material is upheld by the Kickapoo data.

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